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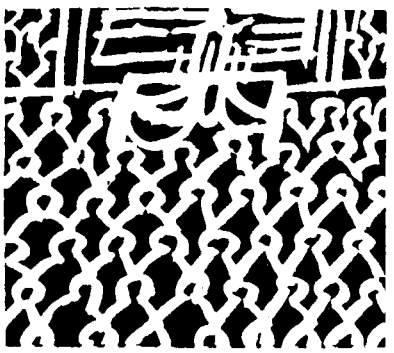

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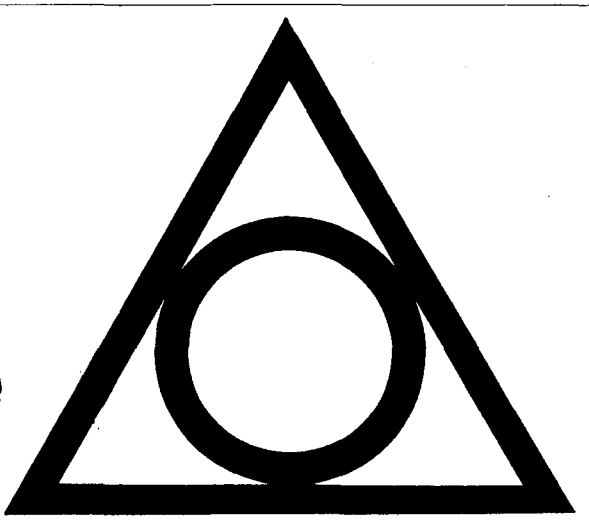

EGGHEADS AND HARD HATS

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

THE ANARCHIST COOKBOOK

EMILE CAPOUYA

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NEWS & VIEWS

New Style, New Day?

If recent actions by two auxiliary bishops are indicative, the American hierarchy may be taking on a new and promising coloration.

In Rhode Island, the Auxiliary of Providence, Bishop Bernard M. Kelly, braved the wrath of Catholic hawks to defend a priest under fire for Mass sermons urging "opposition to a military draft that supports an unjust war in Indochina."

"The silence of church leaders on Vietnam is really scandalous," Bishop Kelly declared. "There is increasing evidence that the principle of a just war is being violated. The church has an obligation to speak out."

In Detroit, meanwhile, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton went on the line for nine nuns—the principal and entire teaching staff of a parish school in northeast Detroit—who resigned in protest over the racism and un-Christian attitudes of parents of the parish.

"We try to teach children social justice, love for his neighbor, but our attempts are either ignored or hindered by attitudes of parents," Sister Mary Margaret Slinger, principal of St. Raymond's School, said.

Bishop Gumbleton commented that the nuns "made a conscientious decision," and that he could find nothing in their action with which to disagree. He added that good results could come from the nuns' decision.

Bishop Gumbleton wasn't talking here only of St. Raymond's, but of a "good number" of parishes in the archdiocese whose social consciousness is delinquent and obviously in need of a jolt. "We have no word right now, but I'd not be surprised if it happens in other parishes," the bishop explained. "Other sisters . . . might reach the same conclusion that they [parishes] are not doing what they are supposed to do."

If this prospect was disconcerting to the bishop, it did not particularly show. Not a few parishes, he remarked, have lagged behind the archdiocese's social guidelines.

His is the kind of honest talk—his and Bishop Kelly's—which makes leadership credible and which will be the redemption of the hierarchy, if redemption is to be. Yesterday one would have heard apologias out of dioceses on both incidents.

On the Other Hand . . .

If the journalistic shades of Donald McDonald and John Leo lingered about the offices of the diocesan newspaper they made bright in the dark years—Davenport's *Catholic Messenger*—they've fled, you can bet, after the Catholic Press Month statement of Bishop Gerald F. O'Keefe.

"If you wish to express the loyalty to your bishop which you so often profess, you will receive *The Catholic Messenger* into your homes as the voice of your bishop," Bishop O'Keefe warmed up.

"You will receive the *Messenger* because I now require that every parish will pay to me a subscription for every Catholic family known in the parish. I shall expect at the very least that the parish census and *The Catholic Messenger* subscription list will agree . . . I will not allow cancellations anymore."

It's many a Catholic Press Month since bishops wrote like that.

As for contents, Bishop O'Keefe warned that bad news might creep into the paper along with the good, but that emphasis will be on the latter. "The Dutch Church," he remarked, "isn't going to slip under the North Sea just because the *Messenger* doesn't write about it."

The R.I. Indictments

The Committee for the Defense of William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne isn't closing up shop yet.

A U.S. district judge in Providence dismissed as insufficient the indictments against Stringefellow and Towne for harboring Daniel Berrigan. But the dismissal was "without prejudice"—which means that the government could seek new indictments.

A Committee spokesman said, Feb. 23, that there was "no hint as yet what the government will do; they're embarrassed and playing things close to the vest."

The Committee does not consider new indictments impossible, and accordingly is working on "contingency plans." It figures it should know in a month or so whether there is to be another round.

"The only thing we can be sure of now is that the government will be much more careful next time," the spokesman said; "if there is a 'next time.' "

Huffaker, *News & Observer*, Raleigh, N.C.

Odds and Ends

— Random House's spring list includes a modern-verse translation by Sister Margaret Williams, RSCJ, of *Piers the Plowman*. The volume, due in June, will contain an extensive translator's introduction to, and analysis of, Langland's poem. Sister Margaret Williams is the daughter of Michael Williams, founding editor of *Commonweal*.

— The annual Senior Fellow Award of Notre Dame's senior class honors "an individual who has the integrity, the decency and the willingness to work for the best values and finest traditions of our society." This year's award has been voted to attorney William Kunstler, defender of Stokeley Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, the Chicago 7 and, more recently, the Berrigans. The seven runners-up included novelist Saul Bellow and radical journalist I. F. Stone.

— The Archdiocese of Boston beat Boston promoter Sam Silverman to the punch. It got the TV rights to the Clay-Frazier fight, and like good apostolic entrepreneurs made plans to pipe the action into 180 parishes of the Greater Boston area. The archdiocese figured to pocket some $200,000. The *Herald-Traveler's* Jack Clary told Silverman to buck up; maybe he could promote bingo games at the Garden. . . . It turned out that the archdiocese had boxed itself into an unneutral corner. In a one-sentence statement, the archdiocese announced it was backing out of the fight game for "lack of response." No one was kidding himself, however, that there wasn't some in-fighting to knock out the kooky idea. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Indicted Nuns and the FBI

Tarrytown, N.Y.

To the Editors: Following the invitation in your magazine to write letters to you on topical and controversial subjects, I take the liberty of making a few comments on the "Catholic conspiracy" case, on which you have already commented in the February 5 issue ["Study in Contrast," page 344]. I have two qualifications to speak on the subject. One is the fact that I am a professor of Marymount College and thus a colleague (and personal friend) of Sister Elizabeth McAlister, one of the "conspirators" indicted in Harrisburg. The other qualification is that I am Hungarian by birth and upbringing and as I did not leave the country with the retreating Nazis in 1945, I have some first-hand information on the methods of persecuting independent citizens in totalitarian states, both Fascist and Communist.

My acquaintance with Sister Elizabeth (and with other members of the society of Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary) prompts me to say that I cannot imagine a more serious, dedicated, morally committed group than these women. Their doings and intentions must be, by definition, "right and just." If women like these can be depicted as enemies of the state while the cocktail-guzzling socialites of the Washington inner circle pose as paragons of patriotic virtue, then something is very wrong with this country.

As to my experience with political persecution in police states, I find a disturbing similarity between the "salami technique" of the Stalinist era in Hungary and the strategy of the FBI high command here. Immediately after the war, when the Communists were not yet in full control of Hungary (an uneasy coalition of Communist and non-Communist parties had formed the government) they achieved their goals by taking over first the agency of "national security." This agency then "un-

(Continued on page 22)

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DEEPER AND DEEPER

Orwell's Big Brother used censorship to keep his own people in the dark, not the enemy. Big Brother Nixon, aided by Little Brother Laird, is no different. Before it took place, the impending invasion of Laos was one of history's worst kept secrets, with headlines in papers all over the world telegraphing what was up long before the invasion took place. Yet for days and weeks after the event, the American people continued to receive only pieces and snippets of the news, largely derived from official handouts and inspired guesswork. The results were not only skimpy but positively misleading—a dangerous state of affairs if people are expected to make any kind of informed judgment about national affairs.

The point is, of course, that the people are not expected to make such a judgment—at least not on anything as crucial as the Vietnam war. Indeed, official policy is clearly intended to conceal as many of the hard facts as possible. What matter if the majority of the American people are convinced that we should get out of the war? Tell the people the war will be ended, and at the same time extend it here, there and everywhere. No matter what the majority sentiment in this country may be, there are men in the White House and in the Pentagon who still think, in the face of all the evidence, that a military victory is possible, and it is far from clear just where they will stop in their pursuit of this will o' the wisp.

The military-industrial complex is not some abstraction; it is frighteningly real. A recent CBS program on propagandizing by the Pentagon illustrated most dramatically the way in which the military try to brainwash us all. Theoretically the Pentagon operates its public relations program on a budget of $30 million a year—a sum most citizens would probably think enough, and more than enough, for military proselytizing; in fact, though, according to the 20th Century Fund, the amount spent for this purpose is more like $190 million annually, with the money going for canned radio and TV broadcasts, films for showing at local chambers of commerce, church suppers and the like, plus a traveling stable of high brass out to sell a hard-line foreign policy to the taxpayer (and this despite official regulations that forbid military personnel from trying to shape national policy). As the CBS program suggested, one is hardly being overly fearful to have grave doubts about a military propaganda effort which every year spends more money than the three major television networks have at their disposal for all their news programs combined.

At home there has been scandalously little criticism of the policy of

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official censorship and manipulation of the news in Laos, but some newsmen on the scene are very conscious of the issues involved. Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News,* for example, said: "There has been a conspiracy between the South Vietnamese and U.S. governments to see that the whole Laotian campaign has got a minimum of coverage." Why should that be? The major reason, we think, is that the Administration is widening the war and in the process running serious risks. This is what official censorship would like to play down. Perhaps there was—and is—no danger of a Chinese intervention, as Administration spokesmen insist. Perhaps the North Vietnamese will not even throw into the war the unused divisions now held in readiness north of the border. Perhaps President Thieu will not lead us across the border into North Vietnam and deeper into the morass of war. Perhaps the Laos gamble will even turn out to be a "success," whatever that means. The point is, however, that the American people are entitled to know what is going on and to make up their own minds about the wisdom of what is being done.

Issues like these will be crucial in the Presidential election next year. Elsewhere in this issue we present an article on Senator George S. McGovern, who at this point is, of all the Presidential hopefuls, expressing the most clearcut opposition to the Nixon war policy. It is our conviction that we need to hear more of such frank talk from all the would-be candidates. A few weeks ago Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien closeted himself with the leading party prospects and emerged with an agreement to concentrate all attacks on the Nixon Administration rather than each other. At first glance this seems reasonable enough, but we share some of the doubts on the point already expressed by James A. Wechsler of the *New York Post.* The nation desperately needs frank speaking and honest debate. We need to know precisely where the individual candidates stand, and it is difficult to see how this goal can be achieved without some blunt give-and-take among themselves. There is no room for gutter politics, assuredly, but there is need for plain speech. Without this, the danger is obvious: we may elect another President ostensibly committed to peace who will in fact lead us into more disasters like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. We do not need such candidates, regardless of party.

NEXT WEEK

PETER J. OGNIBENE offers a "primer" on the ABM and its relationship to nuclear strategy:

"A nationwide ABM system capable of defending us against a nuclear missile attack might actually diminish our deterrence against one. . . . If one side believes it can successfully defend itself from a missile attack, it will no longer regard nuclear war as the ultimate calamity. Removing too much terror from the so-called balance of terror might only serve to embolden those who had, so far anyway, wielded nuclear weapons only in oratory."

Eggheads Under The Hard Hats?

When construction workers waded into a group of long-hairs and student demonstrators on Wall Street last May, the stereotype of the hard hat as the natural antagonist of the young activist caught on. Frustrated middle Americans applauded a form of violence they professed appalled them when used by the militants; instant reply media saw it as generational gap polarization; the game plan strategists in the White House saw an opening to the blue collar vote.

Between Cambodia and Laos, the disturbed currents moving in American society have affected the worker just as much as they have the student and his faculty mentors. While they have not consumed him to the degree that they have overshadowed the campus, there is reason to believe that coalition-builders might expect some movement toward a loose worker-student-intellectual alliance. Several factors support such an occurrence, which a year ago would have seemed as unlikely as a member of the Buckley clan becoming junior senator from New York.

The cool contempt that resides among most of the occupants of upper leadership in organized labor in their attitude toward the intellectual community has not diminished noticeably. And the New Left simplification which has dismissed labor as but an establishment appendage still has true believers among "political" types within academic and student ranks. Yet, the important and possibly significant factor is that representatives from both camps have passed the preliminaries about the shape of the table and have begun to talk.

The *Joe* syndrome was not born on Wall Street with the hard hats, but it did give it credence as a phenomenon, becoming popularized among affluent liberals and working-class whites alike in the film by the same name. The distorted vision of the blue collar worker—interchangeable with the union guy—as a bad-talking, hippie-hating, Wallace-loving paranoiac who would rather fight than dialogue, thus gained currency.

The strategy of the Nixon people prior to November was to foment hostility between organized labor and students and faculties of colleges and universities, especially the tax-supported institutions. The identification by some media of bombings and violent confrontations as representative of all student-academic protest groups

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served this "Student Strategy." The dissolution of the anti-youth appeal by the elections only suggested again that the economic issue will usually surface over the newly-touted "social" issues of violence, race and drugs.

Scammon and Wattenburg's famed 47-year-old wife of the middle-American machinist in Dayton, Ohio, voted the pocketbook—straight Democratic—but even before the 1970 stand-off at the polls, trial balloons were going up for a *rapprochement* between labor and the intellectuals. Alarmed by the threats from conservative state legislatures that the tax-support tap would be turned off at activist institutions, and by the anti-intellectualism given new stature by Spiro Agnew on the stump, academics viewed themselves as increasingly isolated from the rest of the American community.

Initiated by Nobel laureate George Wald of Harvard University, a group of "Eastern intellectuals" met in Cambridge to discuss prospects of fashioning a working alliance with labor. Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock was the leading labor light to attend, along with Jerry Wurf, head of the growing State, County and Municipal Workers, but most of the trade union participants in the initial and follow-up meetings are middle-echelon. (Gus Tyler, social democratic ideologue from the Garment Workers, was invited but did not attend.)

Out of the Harvard meeting came a statement declaring that "progressive elements" in both labor and the universities should join forces to "achieve common social and political objectives." The UAW's Victor Reuther was quoted as saying that those who would divide workers and students were following "as cold and calculating a strategy as the Southern strategy, but there are no two groups that have more in common than working people and students." The then month-old strike against General Motors was cited as a logical place for academic participation, through picket duty, child care centers and educational classes. (UAW strikers received their assistance checks only after doing weekly picket duty or attending union classes.)

Other meetings with the academic-labor unity theme took place on scattered campuses, and the National Student Association set up a Labor Project to explore working alliances. Frank Greer, director of the Project, has reported a friendly if cautious reception within various AFL-CIO unions. "They still feel in many places that we (the McCarthy 'kids') helped blow the 1968 election," he says, "but union guys are far less doctrinaire than some of our own people." Perhaps more to the point, students have joined other picket lines since the GM strike, forming committees to help striking steelworkers in Georgetown, S.C., refinery workers in the Bay Area and teachers in various communities.

The Harvard statement was greeted with sardonic reaction by some commentators in both labor and intellectual circles. John Roche suggested that labor would not return to any alliance on the basis of the "snobbery" that had previously existed. Norman Podhoretz in *Commentary* and columnist George G. Higgins professed skepticism, both attacking the "elitism" which they contend dominates the intellectual community in its attitudes toward the working class. Monsignor Higgins says that "resentment, frustration and discomfort" exists among those outside the "elitist" class, and it results in a justifiable posture of suspicion and hostility toward academics and students.

Another viewpoint was voiced by AFL-CIO Community Services Director Leo Perlis; speaking at student conferences in Cleveland and Baltimore last fall, he noted that labor leadership is now about 20 percent "college men" with virtually every department head and the number-two man in the Federation holding degrees. "To play the somewhat fashionable hard-line, anti-intellectual game is like cutting our brains to spite our bodies," he said. "After all, we don't send our sons and daughters to college just for the hell of it."

The distance between the participants in any working alliance may be gauged by Perlis' treatment of generational "hopes and fears": "if the peace movement of the 1960s was groovy to some of you, then remember that the anti-fascist movement of the 1930s was hunky-dory to some of us." He concluded with a plea to the campus to shun militancy "because the only road that makes any sense is the road to reform. When you think of (militants), think of Stalinism and Siberia and Mao and the cultural revolution." (Some members of all generations involved might question whether what happened to Lyndon Johnson and American politics in 1968 was just a groovy campus trip. Was that what Spain was all about? Hunky-dory?)

The elitism of the campus, however, has been a target of both academic reform and militants, who have recognized the corporate-government-military research hook-up as an institutional alignment of the universities with profitable enterprise. Organized labor is not without its own elitism, declared a student rejoinder at the Cleveland Perlis lecture. Anti-intellectualism has long been the radical-chic of some labor circles.

Despite this fratricide, there is a good possibility that a worker-student alliance could emerge. For part of the mythology of middle America is that workers and their families are partners in an open and affluent society, and that myth is ready to explode in a contract year covering more than two million workers in key industry and transportation. Student romantics who see blue collars joining them on the barricades will have to look again, but within the realm of possibility are hard hats and long-hairs together as political push goes to shove in 1972. George Wald, incidentally, is among the speakers addressing 1,000 steelworkers in Chicago this month.

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

(Russell W. Gibbons, a frequent contributor, is a labor editor in Pittsburgh.)

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ORWELLIANS LEFT AND RIGHT

PETER STEINFELS

THERE IS A connection between the Orwellian language which the government, without it seems even a shred of self-consciousness, increasingly employs to veil, very poorly, the war in Southeast Asia, and the phenomenon titled *The Anarchist Cookbook* which Emile Capouya considers elsewhere in this magazine.

The connection is that degradation of language which defenders of the unspeakable must promote, and which is the sign of the degradation of a Cause. To be sure, the government and the violent element on the Left have their own styles of obscuring reality. The government prefers the latinate and scientific forms which Orwell himself, in his famous essay on language and politics, indicated as so useful for the camouflaging of horrors. Governments in the 20th century have taken to "liquidating" rather than killing their enemies. Dumping a suspected double agent in the South China Sea after putting a bullet through his brain is officially known as "terminating with prejudice." And so on, right up to "anticipated protective retaliation" (bombing another country because it might shoot down your planes, particularly if they were coming to bomb it). We are all too familiar with comic-tragic documents emerging from the Southeast Asian war of the words, like the memo to the Armed Forces Vietnam Network insisting that "South Vietnam" should be called the "Republic of Vietnam" while the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" should be called "North Vietnam." (There is a subtle seconding here of Saigon's claim to represent *all* Vietnam and Marshall Ky's dream of an invasion of the North.) The same memo orders the military media people to stop using "search and destroy" and to say "search and clear" instead. *Clear* is a nice word which applies to water, aisles and teenage complexions. On a destroy day you can see forever.

The Left Orwellians prefer a folksier, casual language. Rather than terminate with prejudice an enemy operative, one *offs a Pig*. "Pig" has played about the same role on the Left as "red" and "gook" have for the enthusiasts of anti-Communist crusades. And "off" is probably the best Orwellian invention of the violent militants I had observed until Timothy Leary transformed himself from a guru into a guerrilla. "We're not hung up about guns," he told *Rolling Stone* from Algeria last December. "It's just *an energy system*." (My italics.) Leary also informed us that "Dynamite is just the white light, the flash, the external manifestation of the inner white light of the Buddha." If I were a Buddhist, I'd want to keep Leary out of my pagoda.

When five Boston-area students robbed a bank and killed a policeman, the Berkeley *Tribe* reported the event under the headline "Revolutionary Rip-Off." What was killed, according to the article, was naturally not a patrolman and a father of nine children, but "an enthusiastic pig." The Berkeley *Barb* reported a series of bombings under the head, "Bombs Away": "four eggs were put in the dinosaur's nest . . . " A few underground papers have regularly printed body counts of dead "pigs." I recall an issue of *Rat* (published by a women's collective) which casually reproduced plans for homemade fire bombs to be left in department stores: presumably they would liberate, at random, a great number of women and children from the burden of life in mal-chauvinist Amerika.

What is at issue here is not the question of violent versus non-violent means; it is the question of the grip on reality of all these Orwellians, in Washington and in the underground. Is life for them, as Mr. Capouya suggests, something that happens on television? Or in a laboratory? Mr. Powell comes on with recipes for bombs, sort of a murderous Julia Childs. Washington computerizes bombing, shifts millions of peasants, uses and disposes of mercenaries (oops! Civilian Irregular Defense Group volunteers), until the right formula for victory finally is discovered.

The Orwellians of the Left are not *the* Left: proof enough is the fact that several of my examples come from essays condemning these developments by Dave Dellinger and Julius Lester in *Liberation*. Nor is everyone in Washington an Orwellian either.

The ones in Washington have the bigger bombs, but that is no reason to excuse the ones in the underground. Yes, we should "understand" them, we should recognize that the Weatherpeople are victims of society, too—as I suppose are Spiro Agnew, Richard Nixon, Lyndon Johnson; and as I suppose, in a different time and a different place and without meaning any direct parallel, so was Adolf Hitler.

To understand is to excuse—that is a proposition which has bothered historians dealing with the atrocities of the past. The same problem exists for us in the present. Lyndon Johnson was only doing his best, someone objected to harsh criticism of him several years ago. Joseph Stalin was probably only doing his best, too. That doesn't help much. Please, no alibis.

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AFTER THE DEATH OF GOD THE FATHER

Women's Liberation and the transformation of Christian consciousness

MARY DALY

The women's liberation movement has produced a deluge of books and articles. Their major task has been exposition and criticism of our male-centered heritage. In order to reveal and drive home to readers the oppressive character of our cultural institutions, it was necessary to do careful research, to trot out passages from leading philosophers, psychologists, statesmen, poets, historians, saints and theologians which make the reader's hair stand on end by the blatancy of their misogynism. Part of the task also has been the tracing of the subtle psychological mechanisms by which society has held men up and women down. This method of exposition and analysis reached its crescendo within this past year when Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* rocketed her into the role of American counterpart to Simone de Beauvoir.

As far as the level of creative research is concerned, that phase of the work is finished. The skeletons in our cultural closet have been hauled out for inspection. I do not mean to imply that there are not countless more of the same to be uncovered (just the other day I noticed for the first time that Berdyaev blandly affirms there is "something base and sinister in the female element." Etcetera). Nor do I mean that the task of communicating the message is over. Millions have yet to hear the news, let alone to grasp its import. Certainly it would be a mistake and a betrayal to trivialize the fact that our culture is so diseased. That has always been a major tactic in the fine art of suppressing the rage of women. No, what I am saying is that Phase One of critical research and writing in the movement has opened the way for the logical next step in creative thinking. We now have to ask how the women's revolution can and should change our whole vision of reality. What I intend to do here is to sketch some of the ways in which it can influence Western religious thought.

The Judaic-Christian tradition has served to legitimate sexually imbalanced patriarchal society. Thus, for example, the image of the Father God, spawned in the human imagination and sustained as plausible by patriarchy, has in turn rendered service to this type of society by making its mechanisms for the oppression of women appear right and fitting. If God in "his" heaven is a father ruling "his" people, then it is in the "nature" of things and according to divine plan and the order of the universe that society be male-dominated. Theologian Karl Barth found it appropriate to write that woman is "ontologically" subordinate to man. Within this context a mystification of roles takes place: the husband dominating his wife represents God himself. What is happening, of course, is the familiar mechanism by which the images and values of a given society are projected into a realm of beliefs, which in turn justify the social infrastructure. The belief system becomes hardened and objectified, seeming to have an unchangeable independent existence and validity of its own. It resists social change which would rob it of its plausibility. Nevertheless, despite the vicious circle, change does occur in society, and ideologies die, though they die hard.

As the women's revolution begins to have its effect upon the fabric of society, transforming it from patriarchy into something that never existed before—into a diarchal situation that is radically new—it will, I believe, become the greatest single potential challenge to Christianity to rid itself of its oppressive tendencies or go out of business. Beliefs and values that have held sway for thous-

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ands of years will be questioned as never before. It is also very possibly the greatest single hope for survival of religious consciousness in the West.

At this point it is important to consider the objection that the liberation of women will only mean that new characters will assume the same old roles, but that nothing will change essentially in regard to structure, ideology, or values. This objection is often based upon the observation that the very few women in "masculine" occupations seem to behave very much as men do. This is really not to the point for it fails to recognize that the effect of tokenism is not to change stereotypes or social systems but to preserve these. What I am discussing here is an emergence of women such as has never taken place before. It is naive to assume that the coming of women into equal power in society generally and in the church in particular will simply mean uncritical acceptance of values formerly given priority by men. Rather, I suggest that it will be a catalyst for transformation of our culture.

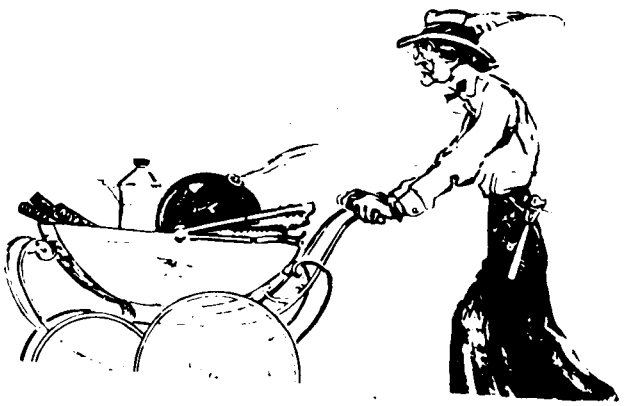
The roles and structures of patriarchy have been developed and sustained in accordance with an artificial polarization of human qualities into the traditional sexual stereotypes. The image of the person in authority and the accepted understanding of "his" role have corresponded to the eternal masculine stereotype, which implies hyper-rationality, "objectivity," aggressivity, the possession of dominating and manipulative attitudes toward persons and environment and the tendency to construct boundaries between the self (and those identified with the self) and "the other." The caricature of a human being which is represented by this stereotype depends for its existence upon the opposite caricature —the eternal feminine (hyper-emotional, passive, self-abasing, etc.). By becoming whole persons women can generate a counterforce to the stereotype of the leader as they challenge the artificial polarization of human characteristics. There is no reason to assume that women who have the support of their sisters to criticize the masculine stereotype will simply adopt it as a model for themselves. More likely they will develop a wider range of qualities and skills in themselves and thereby encourage men to engage in a comparably liberating procedure (a phenomenon we are beginning to witness already in men's liberation groups). This becoming of *whole* human beings will affect the values of our society, for it will involve a change in the fabric of human consciousness.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to anticipate that this change will affect the symbols which reflect the values of our society, including religious symbols. Since some of these have functioned to justify oppression, women and men would do well to welcome this change. Religious symbols die when the cultural situation that supported them ceases to give them plausibility. This should pose no problem to authentic faith, which accepts the relativity of all symbols and recognizes that fixation upon any of them as absolute in itself is idolatrous.

The becoming of new symbols is not a matter that can arbitrarily be decided around a conference table. Rather, they grow out of a changing communal situation and experience. This does not mean that theologically we are consigned to the role of passive spectators. We are called upon to be attentive to what the new experience of the becoming of women is revealing to us, and to foster the evolution of consciousness beyond the oppressiveness and imbalance reflected and justified by symbols and doctrines throughout the millennia of patriarchy.

This imbalance is apparent first of all in the biblical and popular image of the great patriarch in heaven who rewards and punishes according to his mysterious and arbitrary will. The fact that the effects of this image have not always been humanizing is evident to any perceptive reader of history. The often cruel behavior of Christians toward unbelievers and even toward dissenters among themselves is shocking evidence of the function of that image in relation to values and behavior.

Sophisticated thinkers, of course, have never intellectually identified God with an elderly parent in heaven. Nevertheless it is important to recognize that even when very abstract conceptualizations of God are formulated



in the mind, images have a way of surviving in the imagination in such a way that a person can function on two different and even apparently contradictory levels at the same time. Thus one can speak of God as spirit and at the same time imagine "him" as belonging to the male sex. Such primitive images can profoundly affect conceptualizations which appear to be very refined and abstract. Even the Yahweh of the future, so cherished by the theology of hope, comes through on an imaginative level as exclusively a He-God, and it is perhaps consistent with this that theologians of hope have attempted to develop a political theology which takes no explicit cognizance of the devastation wrought by sexual politics.

The widespread conception of the "Supreme Being" as an entity distinct from this world but controlling it according to plan and keeping human beings in a state of infantile subjection has been a not too subtle mask of the divine patriarch. The Supreme Being's plausibility, and that of the static worldview which accompanies this

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projection has, of course, declined. This was a projection grounded in specifically patriarchal infrastructures and sustained as subjectively real by the usual processes of generating plausibility. The sustaining power of the social infrastructures has been eroded by a number of developments in recent history, including the general trend toward democratization of society and the emergence of technology with the accompanying sense of mastery over the world and man's destiny. However, it is the women's movement which appears destined to play the key-role in the overthrow of such oppressive elements in traditional theism, precisely because it strikes at the source of the imbalance reflected in traditional beliefs.

The women's movement will present a growing threat to patriarchal religion less by attacking it than by simply leaving it behind. Few of the leaders in the movement evince an interest in institutional religion, having recognized it as an instrument of their betrayal. Those who see their commitment to the movement as consonant with concern for the religious heritage are aware that the Christian tradition is by no means bereft of elements which foster genuine experiences and intimations of transcendence. The problem is that their liberating potential is choked off in the surrounding atmosphere of the images, ideas, values, and structures of patriarchy. What will, I think, become possible through the social change coming from radical feminism is a more acute and widespread perception of qualitative differences between those conceptualizations of God and of the human relationship to God which are oppressive in their implications, and those which encourage self-actualization and social commitment.

The various theologies that hypostatize transcendence invariably use this "God" to legitimate oppression, particularly that of women. These are irredeemably antifeminine and therefore anti-human. In contrast to this, a more authentic language of transcendence does not hypostatize or objectify God and consequently does not lend itself to such use. So for example, Tillich's way of speaking about God as ground and power of being would be very difficult to use for the legitimation of any sort of oppression. It grows out of awareness of that reality which is both transcendent and immanent, not reducible to or adequately represented by such expressions as person, father, supreme being. Awareness of this reality is not achieved by playing theological games but by existential courage. I am not saying that a liberated consciousness necessarily will use Tillich's language of transcendence. That of Whitehead, James, Jaspers, to mention a few—or an entirely new language—may do as well or better. But it remains true that the driving revelatory force which will make possible an authenticity of religious consciousness is courage in the face of anxiety.

Since the projections of patriarchal religion have been blocking the dynamics of existential courage by offering the false security of alienation—that is, of self-reduction to stereotyped roles—there is reason to see hope for the emergence of genuine religious consciousness in the massive challenge to patriarchy which is now in its initial stages. The becoming of women may be not only the doorway to deliverance from the omnipotent Father in all of his disguises—a deliverance which secular humanism has passionately fought for—but also a doorway to something, that is, the beginning for many of a more authentic search for transcendence, that is, for God.

The imbalance in Christian ideology resulting from sexual hierarchy is manifested not only in the doctrine of God but also in the notion of Jesus as the unique God-man. A great deal of Christian doctrine concerning Jesus has been docetic, that is, it has not really seriously accepted the fact that Jesus was a human being. An effect of the liberation of women will very likely be the loss of plausibility of Christological formulas which come close to reflecting a kind of idolatry in regard to the person of Jesus. As it becomes better understood that God is transcendent and unobjectifiable—or else not at all—it will become less plausible to speak of Jesus as the Second Person of the Trinity who "assumed" a human nature. Indeed, the prevalent emphasis upon the total uniqueness and supereminence of Jesus will, I think, become less meaningful. To say this is not at all to deny his extraordinary character and mission. The point is to attempt a realistic assessment of certain ways of using his image (which in all likelihood he himself would repudiate). It is still not uncommon for priests and ministers, when confronted with the issue of women's liberation, to assert that God become incarnate uniquely as a male, and then to draw arguments for male supremacy from this. Indeed, the tradition itself tends to justify such assertions. The underlying—and often explicit—assumption in the minds of theologians down through the centuries has been that the divinity could not have deigned to become incarnate in the "inferior" sex, and the "fact" that "he" did not do so reinforces the belief in masculine superiority. The transformation of society by the erosion of male dominance will generate serious challenges to such assumptions of the Christological tradition.

It will, I think, become increasingly evident that exclusively masculine symbols for the ideal of "incarnation" will not do. As a uniquely masculine divinity loses credibility, so also the idea of a unique divine incarnation in a human being of the male sex may give way in the religious consciousness to an increased awareness of the divine presence in all human beings, understood as expressing and in a real sense incarnating—although always inadequately—the power of being. The seeds of this awareness are already present, of course, in the traditional doctrine that all human beings are made to the image of God and in a less than adequate way in the doctrine of grace. Now it should become possible to work out with increasing realism the implication in

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both of these doctrines that human beings are called to self-actualization and to the creation of a community that fosters the becoming of women and men. This means that no completely adequate models can be taken from the past. It may be that we will witness a re-mythologizing of Western religion. Certainly, if the need for parental symbols for God persists, something like the Father-Mother God proposed by Mary Baker Eddy will be more acceptable to the new woman and the new man than the Father God of the past. A symbolism for incarnation of the divine in human beings may continue to be needed in the future, but it is highly unlikely that women or men will continue to find plausible that symbolism which is epitomized in the image of the Virgin kneeling in adoration before her own son. Perhaps this will be replaced by the emergence of bisexual imagery which is not hierarchical. The experience of the past brought forth a new Adam and a new Eve. Perhaps the future will bring a new Christ and a new Mary. For the present, it would appear that we are being called upon to recognize the poverty of all symbols and the fact of our past idolatry regarding them, and to turn to our own resources for bringing about the radically new in our own lives.

The manifestation of God in Jesus was an eschatological event whose fulfilled reality lies in the future. The Jesus of the Gospels was a free person who challenged ossified beliefs and laws. Since he was remarkably free of prejudice against women and treated them as equals insofar as the limitations of his culture would allow, it is certain that he would be working with them for their liberation today. This awakening of women to their human potentiality by creative action as they assume equal partnership with men in society can bring about a manifestation of God in themselves which will be the Second Coming of God incarnate, fulfilling the latent promise in the original revelation that men and women are made to the image of God.

Behind the Mask

It should be evident, then, that women's liberation is an event that can challenge authoritarian, exclusive and non-existential notions of faith and revelation. Since women have been extra-environmentals, to use a McLuhanish term, that is, since they have not been part of the authority structure which uses "faith" and "revelation" to reinforce the mechanisms of alienation, their emergence can effect a more widespread criticalness of idolatry which is often masked by these ideas. There could result from this a more general understanding of faith as a state of ultimate concern and commitment and a heightened sense of relativity concerning the symbols it uses to express this commitment. An awareness might also emerge—not merely in the minds of a theological elite, but in the general consciousness—that revelation is an ongoing experience.

The becoming of women implies also a transvaluation of values in Christian morality. As the old order is challenged and as men and women become freed to experience a wholeness of personality which the old polarizations impeded, the potentiality will be awakened for a change in moral consciousness which will go far beyond Nietzsche's merely reactionary rejection of Christian values.

Much of the traditional theory of Christian virtue appears to be the product of reactions on the part of men —perhaps guilty reactions—to the behavioral excesses of the stereotypic male. There has been theoretical emphasis upon charity, meekness, obedience, humility, self-abnegation, sacrifice, service. Part of the problem with this moral ideology is that it became generally accepted not by men but by women, who have hardly been helped by an ethic which reinforced their abject situation. This emphasis upon the passive virtues, of course, has not challenged exploitativeness but supported it. Part of the syndrome is the prevailing notion of sin as an offense against those in power, or against "God" (the two are often equated). Within the perspective of such a privatized morality the structures themselves of oppression are not seen as sinful.

Consistent with all of this is the fact that the traditional Christian moral consciousness has been fixated upon the problems of reproductive activity in a manner totally disproportionate to its feeble political concern. This was summed up several years ago in Archbishop Roberts' remark that "if contraceptives had been dropped over Japan instead of bombs which merely killed, maimed and shriveled up thousands alive there would have been a squeal of outraged protest from the Vatican to the remotest Mass center in Asia." Pertinent also is Simone de Beauvoir's remark that the church has reserved its uncompromising humanitarianism for man in the fetal condition. Although theologians today acknowledge that this privatized morality has failed to cope with the structures of oppression, few seriously face the possibility that the roots of this distortion are deeply buried in the fundamental and all-pervasive sexual alienation which the women's movement is seeking to overcome.

It is well-known that Christians under the spell of the jealous God who represents the collective power of his chosen people can use religion to justify that "us and them" attitude which is disastrous in its consequences for the powerless. It is less widely understood that the projection of "the other"—easily adaptable to national, racial and class differences—has basically and primordially been directed against women. Even the rhetoric of racism finds its model in sexism.

The consciousness-raising which is beginning among women is evoking a qualitatively new understanding of the subtle mechanisms which produce and destroy "the

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other," and a consequent empathy with all of the oppressed. This gives grounds for the hope that their emergence can generate a counterforce to the exploitative mentality which is destroying persons and the environment. Since the way men and women are seen in society is a prime determinant in the whole social system and ideology, radical women refuse to see their movement as simply one among others. What I am suggesting is that it might be the only chance for the turning of human beings from a course leading to the deterioration and perhaps the end of life on this planet.

Those who see their concern for women's liberation as consonant with an evolving Christianity would be unrealistic to expect much comprehension from the majority of male ecclesiastics. Such writers as Gordon Rattrey Taylor (*The Biological Time Bomb*), Robert Francoeur (*Utopian Motherhood*), and others keep beeping out the message that we are moving into a world in which human sexuality is no longer merely oriented to reproduction of the species—which means that the masculine and feminine mystiques are doomed to evaporate. Within the theological community, however, the predictable and almost universal response has been what one might call the ostrich syndrome. Whereas the old theology justified sexual oppression, the new theology for the most part simply ignores it and goes on in comfortable compatibility with it, failing to recognize its deep connection with such other major problems as war, racism and environmental pollution. The work of fostering religious consciousness which is explicitly incompatible with sexism will require an extraordinary degree of creative rage, love and hope.

LET GEORGE DO IT?

McGovern: a new approach to the Presidency

J. F. RICHARD

The American people were brought back to politics with a bang late this January. President Nixon presented his State of the Union address. Black legislators boycotted the speech; government workers continued to strike; the 100th session of the Paris peace talks remained stalemated; but the President dwelt on reorganization. He appointed conservative Senator Dole to head his party. On the Democratic side, ten years after John Kennedy's inauguration, Senator Edward Kennedy was replaced as Democratic Whip by the heir to a different tradition, namely Senator Byrd of West Virginia. The new House leadership also showed a shift to the right. Two staunch Southern committee chairmen, Mendel Rivers and Richard Russell, had died, but their replacements represented more a changing of the guard than a move to reform. If the pace of politics picked up, the direction seemed to be backward.

There was one discordant note. On January 18, Senator George Stanley McGovern formally announced his candidacy for the Presidency. Never before had a Presidential candidate officially entered the race twenty-two months before the election. Cynics saw the move as an over-reaction to his late entry in the 1968 election. Many resented the idea of a longer campaign and the consequent higher costs.

The reasons for the early announcement, frankly explained by the Senator and his staff, were two: the need for an alternative and his own lack of public recognition. Frontrunner Edmund Muskie had an "awfully big" lead with his unprecedented election eve telecast last fall. Some felt that the cautious Maine Senator would stumble under the continuous glare of national publicity. They pointed to his somewhat forced criticism of Nixon's Son Tay raid, his failure to defend the directors of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and his testy interview recently taped, for educational television. McGovern refused to wait for others' mistakes. He wanted to make sure his party had a realistic, full-blown, and winning alternative. He wanted to avoid the cost and controversy of the 1968 campaign by taking his case directly to the people.

The junior Senator from South Dakota saw his number-one problem as one of recognition. Coming from a small farming state far from the centers of population and power, few people knew him. Despite his record—two terms in the House, two more in the Senate, director of President Kennedy's Food for Peace program, leader on poverty and Vietnam—he remained unknown or misunderstood. Some considered him a radical.

He decided to meet the problem head on. As he said in his announcement, "The kind of campaign I intend to run will rest on candor and reason; it will be rooted not in the manipulation of our fears and divisions, but in a national dialogue based on mutual respect and common hope. That kind of campaign takes time." Faced by the

J. F. RICHARD, *a free-lance writer, recently resigned from the State Department after a tour of duty in Vietnam.*

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tremendous challenges of today, he felt that the American people were entitled to a "considerable period of testing and deliberation." He would not go through the usual syndrome from concerned citizen to unannounced candidate to potential draft choice. "Reason and the communication of humane sentiment take longer. They are, however, more lasting and powerful."

The way in which the clean-featured, 48-year-old candidate announced seemed out of step with the mood in Washington. He made no secret of his official entry date. Almost two weeks beforehand, when he resigned his chairmanship of the Democratic convention reform commission to avoid any possible suspicions of conflict of interest, he made his announcement-date public. Likewise, he did not announce from the halls of Congress or the centers of his national support in New York and California. He chose to return to Sioux Falls, South Dakota. One bewildered television commentator remarked privately that McGovern had actually discouraged the networks from coming. When the quiet Senator said, "We will not be helped to understanding by leadership built on image-making or television commercials; by those who seek power; by backroom deals, coalitions of self-interest, or by a continual effort to adjust their policies and beliefs to every seeming shift in public sentiment," it was more than mere rhetoric.

Where He Stands

McGovern's most surprising departure from politics as usual was his confrontation of the issues. As on previous occasions, he insisted that America re-order its priorities, that we meet the challenges of the urban crisis, housing, poverty, pollution and racism. He pledged a total withdrawal from Vietnam. On economic policy, "the clearest weakness of the present Administration," he outlined his own program—subsidized conversion to a peace economy, closure of tax loopholes for the rich, lower interest rates and the selective use of wage and price guidelines. He also cited his long support for depressed-area relief, consumer protection, agricultural assistance and an end to hunger.

Four days before Nixon's State of the Union speech, McGovern called for a "Second American Revolution." He explained that he sought "not a revolution of violence but a quiet determination to square our nation's policies and priorities with the ideals of our founding documents." McGovern felt that America, as it approached its 200th anniversary, was in danger of losing its way, of reversing the traditional relationship of a society designed to serve the individual. He deeply believed that Americans must have faith in themselves and their early traditions of democracy and justice as "the only hope for avoiding the ugly violence that now tempts many desperate people."

Here was McGovern's answer to Agnew. The idea grew from his earlier theme—"Come home, America" —and was first fully developed in speeches he gave on three campuses in Pennsylvania and Ohio. He told his largely student audiences that their generation was no better or worse than those of past or future. The problems remained difficult with little prospect of quick or drastic solution. "In all my travels and studies, I have found no better solution than in the founding ideals of our country. Our best hope lies in the reaffirmation of those ideals in our policies and procedures . . . Most important of all is the right to propose new ideas and challenge old ones. It should not be 'America, love it or leave it' but 'Democracy, live it or lose it.' "

When one young student demanded that such democratic gradualism was not enough in the face of attacks by the "Fascist Pigs," McGovern cut him short. "I will not accept the labeling of any human being as a 'pig.' " He insisted that such name-calling only contributed to insensitivity and the breakdown of communication. He got a standing ovation.

McGovern maintained that it was not a question of Republicans versus Democrats, conservatives versus liberals. When it came to "no-knock" legislation and the like, opposition came from across the board in Congress, including such conservative stalwarts as Barry Goldwater and Sam Ervin of North Carolina. He cited Nixon's State of the Union speech of last year which urged a new quality of life and was followed by one day with the President's veto of both the education and health bills. "The most painful phrase in American political vocabulary is 'credibility gap' . . . For my part, I make one pledge above all others—to seek and speak the truth with all the resources of mind and spirit I command."

Behind Muskie in money, manpower and the polls, the imperturbable South Dakotan hopes his early announcement will give him time and attention to present his case, his character and his record to the public. Already he has reaped a measure of success. A prospective competitor for the nomination, Senator Harold Hughes, said McGovern has "cut a clear and courageous path of commitment on the great issues of peace, poverty and human rights." The *New York Times* editorialized, "His record speaks powerfully in his behalf. . . . Yet if his rhetoric and convictions are those of the crusader in politics, Senator McGovern has none of the doctrinaire arrogance or self-righteousness which are so often the crusader's characteristics."

McGovern is widely respected in Washington for his record. Born during the Depression to a poor Methodist minister and farmer, he first went to Congress during the era of Adlai Stevenson. Graduating in 1962 as the first Democratic Senator from South Dakota in twenty-six years, he devoted his maiden speech there to an attack on wasteful military spending and the crisis mentality in government. As a former bomber pilot decorated during World War II with the Distinguished

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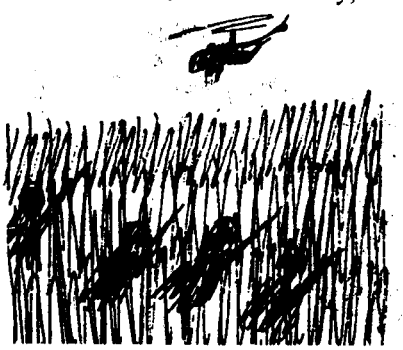
Flying Cross, he continues to insist that our national security would be better served by economic and social betterment at home and abroad than by new military hardware.

In 1963, at the height of prosperity, he first called for a diversion of funds from defense to domestic needs. In 1964, he proposed legislation to help the poor, both black and white, to achieve material minimums with dignity. At the beginning of the inflation in 1966, he suggested a means of stabilizing prices. Nixon was calling for tax-cuts. Today, faced by a difficult recession, many wish they had backed McGovern's ideas.

His recommendations on Vietnam showed equal foresight. In 1963, the freshman Senator became the first to criticize our Vietnam policy publicly: "The current dilemma in Vietnam is a clear demonstration of the limitations of military power . . . We cannot even persuade a government financed and armed by American taxpayers from tyrannizing its citizens and throwing insults at our President . . ." In January, 1965, a few



weeks before the escalation began, McGovern pushed for an internationally supervised cease-fire; Nixon advocated bombing of North Vietnam and Laos. In 1966, Nixon favored even heavier use of air and naval power. Senators McGovern and Muskie had just returned from trips to Vietnam; Muskie rejected negotiation with the National Liberation Front while McGovern's statement that the political war could only be resolved by negotiation among the Vietnamese drew growing support. Last year, McGovern's bipartisan amendment to end the war was defeated but an opinion poll shortly afterward suggested that two-thirds of the public supported the idea. He will resubmit it to the new Congress.

The contrast between McGovern's record and his soft-spoken manner presents something of a dilemma. When asked after his recent address at Ohio Wesleyan University about Secretary Laird's statement that inflation would make further military budget cuts impossible, McGovern responded that it would be one of the central issues of the 92nd Congress. His audience wanted more drama. On the other hand, when asked on the Dick Cavett show whether he resented being called a one-issue candidate, he replied, "No, the war remains the number-one problem, the root of much of our economic difficulties and divisiveness." It is unlikely that the Senator will sacrifice either his convictions or his style of understatement, but the dilemma is still there.

A similar but more difficult dilemma for the Midwestern populist is the conflict between his past role of independent critic and advocate, and the new pressure for him to assume the Presidential role of presiding judge.

McGovern has a long history as the "conscience of his party." In 1965, he came out for negotiations on Vietnam; a few months later President Johnson congratulated him and offered to negotiate with "anyone, any time." In 1968, McGovern urged a relief airlift to Biafra; two days later, candidates Humphrey and McCarthy made similar appeals. Last year, McGovern presented a strong environmental bill allowing private citizens to sue despoilers; Nixon, incidentally supported by Muskie, moved to reorganize the environmental agencies within a week. McGovern was the first of few to counter-attack Agnew during the mid-term election.

There is tremendous pressure on McGovern to become less the protagonist and more the judge seeking a mutuality of interests. Some question whether McGovern can make the transition. In 1968, when Robert Kennedy's assassination threatened to end the causes for which he stood with the aimless dissolution of his delegates, McGovern jumped into the race. Hoping to defeat the strong Johnson Vietnam plank, he originally came out with a compromise plan to end the bombing unilaterally and to broaden the South Vietnamese political base. However, in the heat of the convention battle, he came to demand the withdrawal of 250,000 troops and the cessation of all offensive military operations. At the time, that seemed fairly extreme. The Johnson plank won with Muskie acting as floor manager.

Whether, on the second go-around, McGovern will remain above the fracas, only time will tell. He has submerged temporarily his effort to get the Palestinians into the Mideast peace talks in order to present a united front behind Nixon's diplomatic moves through the United Nations. Unlike 1968, he says he will not settle for a reform platform or the role of stalking horse. "I'm in the race to win. I plan to go the distance." But he also feels that the key attributes required for the Presidency in the 1970's are honesty, openness and commitment.

A third and related problem for McGovern's candidacy is the question of finance. Politics in South Dakota depends largely on personal contact financed by small contributors. McGovern hopes to continue that tradition. "I don't expect the fat cats to come flocking to me."

He raised over a million dollars for liberal candidates in last fall's election. Coincident with his entrance into the Presidential race, he sent letters to some 250,000 potential contributors. He already has a few "fat cats": Morris Dees, an Alabama civil rights lawyer; Joseph Floyd, South Dakota television owner; Max Palevsky,

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president of Scientific Data Systems, Inc.; and Henry Kimelman, a real estate magnate. It is reasonable to assume that much of the funds that went to McCarthy will go his way. His long support for the Kennedys may pay some dividends. Some even suggest that much of the Midwest Humphrey money may eventually find its way to McGovern coffers. The fact that this fall he endorsed some 62 major candidates and keynoted 22 fund-raising dinners will help.

McGovern anticipates raising $500,000 for this year's activities, mostly from sources on the East and West coast. But that is a far cry from the ten or twenty million dollars needed for the election year. His efforts over the past two years to create a party structure more responsive to public opinion may dampen the enthusiasm of some of the party regulars. Much will depend on the popular response to his long campaign.

McGovern began organizing last spring, after the Cambodian invasion, to meet these problems. Encouraged by several long-time associates, most notably Stewart and Morris Udall, Theodore Sorensen, Frank Mankiewicz, Pierre Salinger, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., he set up a special campaign headquarters two blocks from his Senate office. He hired Gary Hart, a bright young Denver lawyer who worked with the late Robert Kennedy for eight years, to head up his expanding staff. From the *Washington Post*, he got Gordon Weil, his capable new press secretary. Richard Stearns, a former Rhodes scholar, took on the key job of research with Senate staffer John Holum and Yancy Martin, formerly of the Democratic National Committee.

The first job was to assemble fifty notebooks on the politics of each state. They laid the groundwork for planned trips to Europe and probably another to Southeast Asia. Preparations were made for the publication this year of the Senator's doctoral dissertation. After World War II, the young McGovern returned to Dakota Wesleyan to become, like fellow Midwesterners Humphrey and McCarthy, a professor. He wrote his thesis on the Ludlow mining disaster of 1914. Just as his 1968 book, *A Time of Peace, A Time of War*, remains unfortunately relevant, he feels the question of labor relations and mine safety is still topical. Most important, his staff started putting together notebooks on about 45 of the top issues he would address.

McGovern's staff was not alone in this effort. Over the years, the Senator had acquired the informal assistance of a large number of experts. Prominent among them were Richard Wade, professor at the University of Chicago and friend of Mayor Daley; John Kenneth Galbraith, former ambassador and professor at Harvard; and two former aides to John F. Kennedy, Lee White and Mike Feldman. Together with many others, they helped McGovern formulate his upcoming proposals on crime, health, welfare and housing.

Last but not least, McGovern announced with his

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candidacy the formation of a National Citizens for McGovern Committee. It will be led by John Douglas Washington lawyer, former Rhodes scholar, Assistant Attorney General under Kennedy and Johnson, and a supporter of Robert Kennedy in 1968. The vice-chairman will be Mrs. Jean Westwood, Democratic national committeewoman for Utah and Humphrey supporter in 1968, and Blair Clark, who organized and directed McCarthy's Presidential bid. For the next twelve months, the focus of the organization's activity will be delegates and finances.

The question that many will be asking over the next few months is how does McGovern differ from Muskie. He recently replied, "I have spoken out first and I have been right." He explained that it was more than "me first." In this age, it is impossible to predict the issues of the future, "but we can no longer afford to wait until 1980 for a President to say what we should have done in 1972." In his typical tendency to understatement, he concluded, "After all, pollution reform doesn't require an exorbitant amount of courage."

One of McGovern's top aides saw the critical difference in terms of approach. Muskie tends to sit back, listen to all the opinions, and then slowly synthesize them into some sort of massive federal program. McGovern, he said, has his own very definite philosophy. He picks the brains of the experts for detailed facts, and then fights for his own solution which usually includes a heavy dose of local control.

Candidate McGovern prefers to discuss Nixon rather than Muskie, but the comparison is inevitable. The day of his announcement, both he and Muskie called press conferences. Returning from a European tour, Muskie refused comment on Russia and the Middle East, but said he had "second thoughts" about the withdrawal of troops from Europe. In a room just down the hall, McGovern reaffirmed his desire for total withdrawal from Vietnam and troop reductions in Europe. He humorously admitted that he would not mind trading places with Muskie on his standing in the opinion polls. However, he concluded, opinion polls will not decide the nomination. "I wouldn't want to trade places with any prospective candidate on the issues."

The first week in February McGovern accepted two invitations to speak to the sometimes hypercritical New York Democrats after Muskie refused. Muskie was busy on television explaining away past political errors when McGovern spoke out for an improved revenue sharing plan, federal funding for welfare and an end to the "lies" from political leaders. Although some of the city radicals were not overwhelmed by his "soft words but hard arguments," two potential competitors, Ramsey Clark and Birch Bayh, gave the South Dakotan strong praise if not actual endorsement. As two fellow Senators recently commented to a reporter, "McGovern really is what Muskie only appears to be."

SNAKE IN THE GARDEN

THE SCREEN

Outstanding among the movies shown at the 1970 New York Film Festival was a Spanish entry called *The Garden of Delights;* and it has now, I'm glad to report, finally been released in this country. Just how popular it will be here is hard to say; its main themes are cupidity, depravity and petty meanness as exhibited by the members of one very-wealthy family—not large but covering three generations living together on their handsome estate. Although the picture has its amusing moments when it laughs at the family and their obvious behavior, most of it is pretty grim stuff that is brilliantly directed by Carlos Saura.

The leading character is Antonio, a middle-aged industrialist (expertly portrayed by Jose Luis Lopez Vazquez) who, at the picture's beginning is a paralyzed amnesiac slowly recovering from an automobile accident. But the recovery is much too slow for the family who are sure that Antonio has a fortune safely deposited in a Swiss bank that the amnesiac cannot remember. Hoping to shock him and waken his memory. Antonio's father, wife, son, daughter (she most gently) and some outsiders including a hired actress, the servants and Antonio's mistress re-enact scenes from the past. These traumatic experiences should make the poor old guy think. If they succeed, the "poor, old guy" doesn't let on. We become wise to the fact that his memory is returning, but the money-anxious family does not. While some of these re-enactments are heartbreaking to watch, some are also very amusing as they show to what lengths greedy people will go. And Antonio is no better than the others.

Although most of the actors in *The Garden of Delights* are unknown to us, their good performances deserve applause, and so do Saura's direction and Elias Querejeta's production. One can accept the picture as a parable about modern Spain, or one can see it as just an interesting and provocative movie. In any case it is an absorbing movie. Two of its scenes are unforgettable: the one in which Antonio takes his wife for a rowboat ride, tries and fails to upset the boat, and mutters "An American Tragedy"; and the final scene in which all the members of the cast are in the garden—each one in his own wheelchair and no one paying any attention to anyone else. The scene is bitter and breathtaking.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

A chamber of horrors mixed with the chamber of commerce

The Anarchist Cookbook
WILLIAM POWELL
Lyle Stuart, $12; paper, $5.95

EMILE CAPOUYA

Here is a book in large format, at a high price, with a cover appropriately black, dedicated to the proposition that the government's corner on violence amounts to a monopoly in restraint of trade. The cure suggested is traditional: encourage competition, in this case competition on the part of small producers, do-it-yourself types working at home—a kind of cottage industry of mayhem and murder. The object is freedom, liberty, and, I imagine, peace.

To help us arrive at these good things Mr. William Powell provides technical information, jocosely presented as recipes whenever possible, in four chapters dealing with drugs, electronic devices, small arms, and explosives and booby traps. The style is at once jaunty and hectoring, and not quite literate. Incidentally, the section on drugs does not contemplate administering them to the enemies of liberty; on the contrary, they are for the freedom-fighters. The presumption appears to be that since most of the substances mentioned under this heading are forbidden by law or custom, the act of consuming them is itself a blow struck for liberation, establishing an island of freedom around the user. Eldridge Cleaver once remarked that since revolutionaries needed to have their wits about them, drugs were out. There is a clash of views here, but Mr. Powell may be thinking of those moments when revolutionaries are, as it were, off-duty. Or he may simply be putting self-liberation by means of drugs ahead of armed struggle against the state. Or acknowledging that the lonely entrepreneur who means to compete in violence with a cartel as powerful as the United States Government needs the consolation of all the stimulants and narcotics he can get.

Mr. Powell is a very young man, and it would be remarkable if he had managed to make himself expert in guerrilla warfare, pharmacology, weapons, demolitions, electronics, etc. A reviewer would have to be similarly competent to deal adequately with the diverse materials of this compilation. I can make no such claim, but I can judge one technical aspect of Mr. Powell's work, his discussion of small arms, and it is unsatisfactory. The author is clearly not at home in this subject, and even where his information is correct and his opinions justifiable, they are presented in a way that suggests he has no clear idea how the pieces fit together. I would guess that his magisterial tone is supported by very little practical experience with weapons and some ill-digested reading—mostly in manufacturers' catalogues.

The kinds of errors he makes are instructive on this point. He is simply not sufficiently familiar with the history and characteristics of commonly available firearms. For example, he tells us that the Savage Model 99 is produced in "all the standard calibers," which is nonsense, and that it costs, new, about $50, which is raving—unless Mr. Powell expects to purchase his from a hijacker. Since he recommends a lever-action in the general context of armed insurrection, moreover, it is clear that he has never reflected on the fact that no military force in the world has adopted a weapon of this type, and that it might have serious defects for fighting purposes. Again, he remarks in passing that the Garand M-1 was used in both World Wars. As it happens, the first production model was manufactured in the thirties, nearly a generation after the first World War. The point here is that the existence of an auto-loading weapon of this kind has consequences that a writer on warfare ought to be aware of; the Garand was designed and issued to American soldiers as a result of conclusions drawn in part from the experience of the first World War. And in the same section of his book, Mr. Powell adapts from Che Guevara's treatise on guerrilla warfare, without acknowledgment, sketches for a device for launching Molotov cocktails. The weapon is an ordinary shotgun, with a bipod fitted to the foreend that provides, with the heel of the stock, a three-point mount. And Guevara describes how to modify a shotgun-shell so as to employ it as a propellant for the liquid grenade in question. Mr. Powell reproduces that description too. Now it happens that the three English versions of Guevara's manual that I have seen all mis-translate one line of the passage. Mr. Powell quotes his English source quite uncritically: "This is a good weapon for encirclement." But this is, militarily speaking, gibberish. Guevara never said anything of the kind.

In short, it looks very much as if the publisher of *The Anarchist Cookbook* has sent a boy to do a man's job of murder. Mr. Peter Bergman, the author of the introduction, writing with a candor bordering on cynicism, suggests that the book as a whole represents a kind of social and psychological pathology. Mr. Bergman as much as says that he finds it both pathetic and fatuous—but he is in favor of it, because it is a harbinger of revolution. He appears to regard Mr. Powell and

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those persons who may be brought to share his views as necessary sacrifices on the altar of history. He takes the long view. In a time of social disruption, he seems to say, madness of this kind is to be expected, and it begets further madness until disruption becomes disintegration.

But what kind of madness is this? Three kinds, really. First, a common psychological freak, related to what Freud calls "the internalization of the censor"—that is, the theory that the individual comes to embody the values of society, so that they act as a guide to his conduct and as a check upon it. Mr. Powell has internalized not the professed values of American society but some of the values it is now expressing in its actions: delight in asserting power—including power we do not have; an assumption of moral superiority that justifies every action, no matter how noisome; a penchant for violence as the universal instrument of policy; and an adoration of technique and artifacts. Mr. Powell has in this sense internalized the United States Government and American society as a whole.

Secondly, he has a very slender hold on reality. The horrors, real and imaginary, that he evokes are clearly beyond his ability to grasp. His tone, which manages to be both blasé and hysterical, indicates that he thinks history is something that happens somewhere else, perhaps on television, and to imaginary people, possibly including himself. There is plainly something defective about a young man who gets a big kick out of visions of beatings, executions, explosions. Of course, there are many such persons among us, of every political coloration, all of them cheered and comforted by our amiable folkways in this regard—but Mr. Powell is no less a madman for having plenty of company.

Finally, in one place, among these indications of a disordered soul, the author of *The Anarchist Cookbook* sounds the authentic note of derangement.

> . . . Over the past few years my absolute hatred of vending machines and pay phones has led me to break into almost every kind I could find. Parking meters are the easiest by far: All you need is a hammer and chisel or a large monkey wrench. Soda machines are almost as easy, but real delight comes from ripping a Kotex machine off the wall of a women's rest room. . . .

How's that again? Yes that's what he says, real delight. Apparently, before he undertook this treatise on the means toward liberation, Mr. Powell was spiritually under-employed. He could spare lots of attention to vending machines, and of these he found the Kotex machine in the women's rest room particularly rewarding. These revelations, remarkable for their author's incomprehension of what it is that he is announcing about himself, seem to me to express in little the attitudes underlying almost everything else in his book. He is irresponsible because he is unconscious.

That is one reason why this twelve-dollar book contains about ten cents worth of recognizable anarchism—contributed mostly by Mr. Bergman, of whom a brief and I think fair characterization is that he knows some of the words but none of the music. Anarchism, like the other forms of socialism, is in part a humanistic response to specific evils that accompany industrialization; in part it embodies some of those evils. It has evolved together with industrialization, and at various times in the last two centuries it has shown stigmata that have everything to do with specific historical stages of that evolution. Among these was the theory—and the practice—of "propaganda by the deed," *i.e.*, of deliberate acts of terrorism, which subsisted for a very short period but which supports the universal caricature of anarchism as a doctrine of bombs and chaos. In desperate circumstances even good men may turn to violence, and only a reasonable amount of historical imagination is required in order to re-create in our minds the social conditions under which men who opposed the state on principle, because it was the incarnation of violence, were led to attempt

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The Man in the Sycamore Tree
The Good Times and Hard Life of Thomas Merton
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assassinations: if ever despots asked to be killed, the czars of Russia and Henry Clay Frick did so. But that much historical insight is often lacking, and not only on the political right but on the left as well, where the terrorist episodes of anarchism are stupidly dismissed—or glorified. But offering a vision of mindless violence as a serious characterization of the libertarian strain of socialist thought—the body of doctrine elaborated by Godwin, Bakunin, Malatesta, Kropotkin, Herbert Read, Paul Goodman—is like characterizing the message of Jesus as the promise that heretics will be burned at the stake.

Anarchists object to coercion, of themselves and of others. While they must sympathize with the armed struggle for liberty of oppressed nations and races, they regard the resort to arms itself as a tragic act—one rich in misfortune for the future of the revolution. They hold society to be distinct from the state, and the state to be defined by its effective monopoly of the means of violence. On this analysis, a society that turns to revolutionary violence in order to escape misery and exploitation nevertheless fastens upon itself the instrument of its future oppression, in the form of the revolutionary army that will someday be the army of the state and, as institutionalized violence, the ultimate expression of its coercive nature. The poor may have no choice, and severely limited freedom is better than none; but the citizens of rich, industrialized nations in the second half of the twentieth century have revolutionary means other than violence for attaining to a humane polity. Now, anarchism is no church, and can pronounce no excommunications, but in the light of its principles the doctrine of Mr. William Powell is an oddity.

It should be sufficiently obvious, however, that this particular oddity is in the American grain. No foreign agitators persuaded the author to embrace the values expressed in our public conduct. Nor did he invent the combination of bombs and drugs (aggression and passivity coupled); they were here for him, the fully developed product of a political and social order in crisis. And another home-grown characteristic salutes us as we contemplate Mr. Powell's book—its rampant, shameless, innocent commercialism.

Not all of this is the author's doing. He produced a manuscript, but it took his publisher to make a book of it. That is, Mr. Powell wrote and compiled after his own sensational bent, but Lyle Stuart turned it into a commodity. It would be idle to pretend that making money by sensationalism is a rarity in book-publishing, that showing no trace of civic responsibility or ordinary human solidarity—a minimal concern for the well-being of one's fellows—distinguishes Lyle Stuart from all other publishers. But if Mr. Powell's insanity is scarcely mitigated by the ocean of madness around him, his publisher's venality is not excused by his many colleagues whose only loyalty is to the profit-and-loss account. All of the information, and some of the misinformation, contained in *The Anarchist Cookbook* is available elsewhere, in sources ranging from Army field manuals to industrial formularies. And any young man who has been through basic training in the infantry has acquired more useful information about small arms and tactics than is presented in this book. In other words, the materials themselves, with all their potentialities for use and abuse, are already at hand. The promise of Mr. Powell's compilation is that it assembles in convenient form quite disparate bodies of knowledge. In Mr. Powell's view, accordingly, it is a tool of personal liberation, sabotage, insurrection, guerrilla warfare, armed revolution. Does the publisher so regard it, and does he care? He distributed a squib with the review copies that is absolutely free of ideological commitment. My guess is that he imagines he can get $12 for a suitable number of copies of the cloth edition, $5.95 for the paperback.

On the evidence of the text itself, moreover, Lyle Stuart did not do what an ordinarily prudent merchant would do before undertaking to sell information about drugs, infernal machines, and the techniques of sabotage: he did not seek the advice of informed persons who could tell him whether or not he would be selling the genuine article. Given Mr. Powell's performance with firearms, I would imagine that a reader who followed his prescriptions in the matter of drugs or explosives might be taking his life in his hands. But just as this publisher has no interest in his customers' aspirations toward freedom, personal and social, so he cares nothing for their physical and spiritual safety. Unless, of course,

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he and his author are the same kind of madman.

All over the country, young people are acquiring weapons of all sorts with a political end in view. Now, in every political upheaval since the French Revolution the insurgents have equipped themselves with weapons from the arsenals of the regime they rose against, and that is what will happen the next time an armed rising occurs. For that reason, stock-piling deer rifles in one's home is an absurdity. It is done out of the psychological need for symbolic activity right now, and it may lead to a few random killings and a few deaths by misadventure—invisible compared to what our government accomplishes every day in Southeast Asia. But does Lyle Stuart think that a good idea? All over the country, young people are experimenting with drugs, of which the best add remarkably little to the gaiety of nations and the worst are extremely dangerous. Does Lyle Stuart think it in the public interest to disseminate information about drugs that is really a form of propaganda and prosyletizing? The answers to both questions appear to me to be the same. Lyle Stuart feels that he is acting as the honest broker, the common carrier of literary wares, who has a duty to publish any book offered to him that does not appear to be actionable under the law, and to sell to every customer who has cash or sound credit. The first part of that claim, of course, is true only in a Pickwickian sense, since every publisher chooses from among the books offered to him, and none publishes them all. At best, in any case, this position expresses the morality of a commercial enterprise—but it is morality nonetheless. As a member of the publishing trade myself, I have always regarded that principle as a minimal protection against the censorship of ideas by persons who, like publishers, have a monopoly of the means of communications. I never imagined, however, that it could guarantee us against the appearance of a bad book. For that we should have to have a corps of publishers uniformly intelligent and conscientious. The misnamed *Anarchist Cookbook* is proof that we do not.

The Dimensions of Job

Ed. by NAHUM GLATZER

Schocken, $7.95

JACK RIEMER

Nahum Glatzer has given us a good example in this book of how a work of literature should be read. He has shown us that every classic must be approached from two directions. We must study it first in terms of what led up to it and see if we can determine what it originally meant in its own particular time and place. We must strive to determine what were the elements in its civilization from which it drew and against which it reacted. But then when we have done this, we have not yet done enough. If it is a classic, we must then strive to trace the path that the book has traversed from the time when it was written. We must strive to understand what it has come to mean down through the ages to the men who have read it and responded to it. We must see what chords it has struck in the souls of the poets and playwrights, artists and philosophers who have interpreted it. What men have read into a classic and what they have said in response to its words is as much a part of the history of the book as what its words originally meant.

This two-level history is what Dr. Nahum Glatzer has done in this work for the book of Job. In the first part of his study, he gives us a brief but fascinating exposition of the book itself in the light of what scholars know of the cultural world from which it emerged.

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REVIEWERS

EMILE CAPOUYA is Literary Editor of *The Nation.*

RABBI JACK RIEMER is Book Editor of *Conservative Judaism.*

WILLIAM V. SHANNON is a member of the editorial board of the *New York Times* and author of *Robert F. Kennedy: The Heir Apparent.*

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He sets the book against the background of biblical faith, pagan literary motifs, and ancient beliefs. His thesis is that the central theme of the book is the problem of knowledge—human knowledge versus divine knowledge. He shows that the key word of the book is "yadoa" and that the book can be understood by a careful analysis of the different ways in which this word is used in it. Especially interesting is his suggestion that the book of Job should be read over against the third chapter of Genesis in which the problem of man's right to knowledge is also central.

Then, having established when and where and why the book was originally written and what it meant in its own times, Dr. Glatzer moves on to make a survey of medieval and modern thought, both Jewish and Christian, in order to show in how many different ways this same book was understood by wisely to include not only the works of biblical scholars but also the works of playwrights and philosophers, for it is very often these people who make up in sensitivity for what they lack in expertise, and who have the most perceptive things to say about the issues that the book of Job raises.

This is not a mere anthology of encomia on the book of job. It is a discussion in depth of what the book means by people who have wrestled long and hard with its message. A remarkable range of personalities has been brought together in this collection, and each one has a Job in his own image. There is the serene balanced discursive mood of a scientist like James B. Conant and there is the horror and the anguish of a storm-tossed soul like Soren Kierkegaard. There is the urbane logical analysis of a detached philosopher like Paul Weiss and there is the deeply involved ethically sensitive statement of a passionate thinker like Hayim Greenberg. There is Martin Buber who writes about Job during the years of the Holocaust and there is the literary analysis of Robert Lowth who relates the poetic structure of the book to Oedipus Rex.

The most moving responses to the book of Job in this collection are by Hayim Greenberg and Archibald MacLeish. Both men are usually classified as humanists but these essays demonstrate the difficulty of categorizing a profound faith.

Greenberg's essay is a protest against the glibness which is the opposite of real faith. He recoils with horror from those that can explain just what God is doing and just why men suffer. All efforts at theodicy end up as rubbing salt into the wounds of the suffering and all efforts at justifying the work of God are arrogance. He is equally angry with the Christian who dares explain the suffering of the Jews as the result of their refusal to accept Christ and with the Rabbi who dares to say that the Jews are suffering as punishment for having failed to observe the Law. God is better served by those who do not whitewash Him, who do not exonerate Him with cheap and morally offensive explanations, but who face up to the endless mystery which is human existence. Whoever needs proof is already a non-believer and whoever finds proof diminishes God.

Archibald MacLeish has an essay in this book that sets forth the point of view behind his play, *J.B.* The play has been criticized because it makes human love the only verity in a cold, uncaring universe but in this essay MacLeish defends human love as being something more than merely mundane. Human love is one of the wonders of the universe. The point of the book of Job for MacLeish lies, not only in Job's stubborn faith in God, but in God's stubborn faith in Job. God needs Job, though He needs no other thing on earth or in heaven that He has made. He needs Job so that there may be someone in the universe who loves Him, not for what he can get from Him but simply because He is. Man depends upon God for many things, but God depends upon man for one thing—for love. Satan, who is the denial of life, who is the kingdom of death, cannot be overcome by God, who is his opposite, who is the kingdom of life, except by man's persistence in the love of God despite his suffering.

It is not acceptance of the will of God—numb, dull, resigned, passive acceptance that the books of Job teaches, as so many mistakenly think. It is love, love of life, love of the world, love of God, love in spite of everything, which is its answer, the only possible answer to the ancient human cry against injustice.

Scientists define man as the animal that thinks. It is an insufficient definition. Man is the animal that loves. It is in man's love that God triumphs, in man's love that life is beautiful, in man's love that the world's injustice is resolved.

In the light of this essay one rereads *J.B.* with new appreciation. It is not the work of a secular humanist but of one who is able to hold together in one thought the greatness of man and

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the grandeur of God.

These two essays, by Greenberg and MacLeish, which we have summarized, are examples of the wealth of insight and the variety of viewpoint that are contained in this anthology of responses to the book of Job. In the end, Job continues to defy his interpreters. He is what they say about him and more, and his words will continue to baffle and fascinate readers long after these commentaries on him are forgotten. For many useful insights into Job and for an understanding of what he has meant to some modern writers, this book is recommended.

The Governor

EDWARD R. F. SHEEHAN

World, $6.95

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

The Boston novel is on the way to becoming a tradition. There is rich material in the antagonism between Harvard-centered liberal Yankee culture and pious, socially-conservative Catholicism, a conflict which brought to the fore a spectacular cast of characters, much gamey politics, and, if not tragedy, a lot of passion, melodrama and farce.

The best examples of the Boston novel are Joseph Dinneen's *Ward Eight*, Edwin O'Connor's immensely popular *The Last Hurrah* and *The Edge of Sadness*, and from the Yankee viewpoint, John Marquand's *The Late George Apley*. Edward Sheehan's new novel *The Governor* easily holds its own in this company. It is well-written, often extremely funny, accurate in its realistic details, sometimes moving, and always readable.

This is the story of two Irish Catholic brothers in contemporary Massachusetts, one of whom becomes a radical priest and the other the Governor. At the outset, it has to be said that this is not a thinly-disguised novel about the Kennedys. Governor Emmett Shannon, except for his handsome face and his taste for good prose, bears no resemblance to J.F.K. (As a Massachusetts native who spent some time at Harvard and once wrote on state politics, I have to confess that I enjoyed a narcissistic pleasure in reading about a hero named Shannon who is a newspaperman and becomes Governor of the Commonwealth. I trust the coincidence of names did not seduce my judgment, although the subject matter may have.)

This kind of novel teeters uneasily on the borderline between journalism and fiction. The real personalities—James Michael Curley, Cardinal Cushing, Joseph P. Kennedy—are so baroque as to seem larger than life while the secondary characters are so bizarre they could hardly be improved upon in fiction. In *The Governor*, the Shannon brothers are fictional creations but the archbishop who plays so dominant a role is transparently Cardinal Cushing. The other secondary figures including the highway bureaucrat-turned-political boss, the lisping political monsignor, and the Governor's malaprop-prone secretary are also drawn from life or from recognizable composites of real people.

The novel's only serious weakness is that these secondary characters are more interesting and more credible than Governor Shannon, the ostensible hero. It is always unfair to criticize an author for not having written a different book but the archbishop is such a convincing character that one wishes that Sheehan had written an ecclesiastical rather than a political novel.

Nevertheless, Sheehan is effective in portraying the vulgarity and exact conversational tone of Boston's hack politicians. He is a good deal more realistic than O'Connor, who in *The Last Hurrah* presented a disinterested but softly focused, slightly sentimentalized portrait of Curley and his entourage. In this book, the scenes of legislators drinking and eating may repel some readers but they are sadly true.

Sheehan is also excellent in depicting what he terms "the pornography of piety"—the blessing of the family Buick, the garish statues, the pious hypocrisies. Here is State Representative Bonaventure Finucan, a political grafter who "wore his religion on his sleeve. At the funerals of prominent public figures he could invariably be observed mumbling his rosary beads, reciting in a loud voice all of the liturgical responses, and then leading the fifty-yard dash, ahead even of the younger and more lithe politicians, to the Communion rail. . . . His large office on the third floor of the State House resembled a wayside chapel in County Tipperary, so copious were its ecclesiastical as well as secular souvenirs. Testaments to Bonaventure Finucan's civic eminence coexisted with the portraits of three popes, and a niche that enshrined the Miraculous Infant of Prague, clad with real silken robes, imitation rubies in his crown, a pair of pink votive candles flickering always at his feet."

It is a politico-religious style that is dying but not yet dead. Secretly estranged from this milieu and almost openly revolted by these grasping hangers-on, Governor Shannon tries

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first to play his political role as if he were the lead in a comedy but at the novel's climax, events compel him to face up to his public responsibilities and their moral consequences.

Some of the best scenes take place far from Massachusetts in lengthy flashbacks to the Governor's adventures in Europe as a foreign correspondent and to his journey with the archbishop to the Congo. Sheehan's descriptions of Salzburg and of Africa are lyrical. *The Governor* does not finally succeed as great literature but there is nothing cheap or contrived. This is popular fiction of a very high quality, serious in intent and sensitive in execution. In short, a first-class entertainment.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 3)

covered" one conspiracy after the other and the conspirators were always the outspoken critics of the Communists. With these convenient tactics the Communists succeeded in eliminating all opposition to their policies and silencing all voices raised against their machinations. The "purges" culminated in the famous case when the non-Communist Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, was charged with conspiring to overthrow his own government. That was the time (1947) when I decided to leave the country. Seven years later I landed in America. Is it possible that I came to the wrong place?

ALEXANDER WOLSKY
Marymount College

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3-12-71

A New Peace Movement

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: I would like to applaud Peter Steinfels' column, "A New Peace Movement" [Feb. 12]. Its call for a revival of broad-based tactics is on the mark. I have long felt that one of the greatest tactical errors of the Movement has been its assumption that a disposition for more radical action and analysis is built by sabotaging more moderate tactics. I am sure that the opposite is true. Only by building a solid supply line of moderate support and activity can you also sustain probes toward more radical analysis and action, whereas those with a stake in repression are the beneficiaries when the Left cuts its lines of communication with liberals. It appears that this is one of the chief purposes of the government's fabricated conspiracy indictment against the Catholic Left. Here was a group which alienated many liberals unnecessarily, to be sure, but nevertheless has great potential for acting as a mediating force between radicals and liberals, and were beginning to become more savvy about how to do that. The recent indictment appears to be aimed at destroying this mediating possibility and at putting this group beyond the pale of respectability. But there is evidence that the government's illegal unscrupulousness is creating a backlash, and a spectrum of support from radicals to moderate civil libertarians could be built in this case.

What I am suggesting is that we must not only entertain the possibility of reviving moderate tactics, but the possibility that many things deemed 'too far out' could be brought back in by better hermeneutics. I believe that Middletown, U.S.A. might be able to respond sympathetically to a showing of *The Catonsville 9*. When I say 'respond sympathetically,' I am not suggesting that they be persuaded to bash a draft board, but that, at a minimum, one could evoke something like this:

"Well, I couldn't do that myself, because it is a) illegal, b) unsafe, c) ineffective, but I think they are *fine* people. I admire their a) courage, b) principles, c) motivation. I don't think from what I have seen that they would have done something like the FBI has said. It is terrible that the FBI could actually try to frame someone like that! I would like to do something to help. Maybe we could start by getting our church group to write letters to our Congressman supporting Rep. Anderson and objecting to Vice-President Agnew's attack on him."

The government has made a major move to further polarization in this case, but we can seize the opportunity to use it for just the opposite effect. This means that many Catholic liberals must lose their sore-heads, however, justified, at Dan Berrigan's rhetoric and recognize that this is a new question with which new things can be done. I agree with Mr. Steinfels that we have to aim in the short run at a new liberal alliance that can replace the present Administration with just about anybody with a decent respect for life, civil rights and truth in government.

For information on the Defense, write: Washington's Birthday Defense Committee, 241 E. 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029 or 245 2nd Street, Washington, D.C. 20002.

ROSEMARY RUETHER

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

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Hong Kong Catholics

Hong Kong

To the Editors: I refer to the article on "Catholics and Communists in Hong Kong" by Neale Hunter in the October 16, 1970 issue of your review. The Hong Kong Diocesan Convention which he writes about is an exercise in co-responsibility and dialogue among all sections of the faithful. There are eleven working groups, each dealing with one major area of concern (ecumenism, education, liturgy, etc.), into which 420 delegates, mostly elected, are split. Each working group was issued one position paper. The eleven position papers had been drafted by eleven commissions of five or six members each, all elected. They represent the views of nobody except members of the drafting commissions themselves, and the papers were intended to serve only as a starting point of discussion.

Since the diocesan convention was formally opened on the first Sunday of Lent 1970, without exception the position papers have been subjected to rigorous criticism and revision. The Working Group 7 on the Social Mission of the Church, on which Mr. Neale Hunter's article concentrates, is no exception. It aroused more *public* attention only because the dialogue-with-Communists proposal touched off a *public* controversy in the secular press.

It is known among many in the diocese, although Mr. Hunter does not seem to be aware of it, that none of the position papers had been seen or checked by me in any form before they were printed and distributed. They carried not only no official authority of any kind, they can not even have been used as a trial balloon to test public reaction to any idea of mine. This knowledge is necessary when one tries to assess the value of the following statement made by Mr. Hunter:

"(Bishop Hsu's) rapid rise through the hierarchy was due to his relatively liberal views on China, and his appointment as Bishop was clearly designed to take some of the bite out of the Taiwan hawks. It was rumored that the Pope had given him leave to explore the possibility of dialogue with the Communists, so that Working Group 7 could well have been his trial balloon."

I regret to say that I find Mr. Hunter's article full of cynicism and unchecked half-truths. How many of Hong Kong's population of four million would agree with him that "the basic right of most Hong Kong Chinese is the right to be manipulated, disoriented and dehumanized"? And Mr. Hunter seems to have an irresistible passion for dramatic words: he describes me, for instance, as "embroiled in a veritable Cantonese opera of intrigue." Does he expect to be taken seriously?

Since Mr. Hunter mentioned me so many times in his article, you will kindly accord me the courtesy of publishing this letter.

(MOST REV.) FRANCIS HSU
Bishop of Hong Kong

Canberra, Australia

REPLY: Sorry to have stirred Bishop Hsu, who is a classic case of a good man in an untenable position. As a Chinese, he knows Mao's old prediction about the East Wind prevailing is pretty right where Hong Kong is concerned. As a Christian, he knows the Hong Kong Catholic Church cannot survive as an anti-Communist minority. As a bishop, he should therefore lead his people to seek out the Communists and find common ground with them.

Whether Working Group 7's suggestion of dialog was his trial balloon or not is immaterial. You can find out a lot about the winds from anyone's balloon. The point is that he cut down the balloon, stopping not dialog but even a whisper of dialog. This smacks to me of right-wing intrigue, with the bishop a perhaps unwitting victim.

St. Paul took on the Greco-Roman cultural and political hegemony of the Mediterranean. Had he refused to talk with the Gentiles, Christianity would never have gotten off the ground as a world religion. I don't see why the Pauline tradition should stop in Hong Kong.

NEALE HUNTER

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